5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

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## 4. *Additional Data on* Otohu

Discouragement of initiation ritual by the Anglican mission and the consequent weakening of the institution greatly hampered me in obtaining the additional data needed to clarify Williams' account. Unable to attend any ceremonies, I had to depend almost entirely on interviews. Most adults still own *otohu*. The men usually receive them at initiation, the women either at initiation or, quite often, at the time of marriage. In about half the cases the father was the donor; in most other cases it was the mother's brother. One man who had been elected a member of the Higaturu Local Government Council, was honoured with an *otohu* by his wife's father.

With regard to initiation ritual, the seclusion of boys is no longer practised and the period of seclusion for girls tends to be much shorter than in earlier days. It is, however, rarely shorter than three weeks and sometimes still lasts for some months. The influence of the mission is given as the reason for the changes. When I asked why the modern custom for girls differs from that for boys, I was told that if girls were not secluded and subjected to the full ritual, they would be unable to control their menstrual flow; they would contaminate the village and sicken.

*Kogumbari* often occurs on the occasion of Christian festivals such as Easter, when the girls, fully dressed up, are 'shown to the people' during a dance on the mission ground. The white missionaries are unaware of the significance of the event. It appears that two ceremonies (puberty seclusion and initiation) to which adolescent girls used to be subjected have been reduced to one, which takes place upon the commencement of menstruation. *Otohu* are bestowed either then or upon marriage.

Boys receive their *otohu* at ceremonies which have become known as 'birthday parties', one of which is fully described by Crocombe (1966). The whole ceremony, including the conferral of *otohu*, usually occurs in a single weekend or at Christmas and a drinking party is sometimes given to the people by the father of the initiand. I never managed to attend one of these occasions but suspect that in many villages the ritual still involves the appearance of *embahi*. I have knowledge of one instance in a village close to Sivepe in 1967.

I was able to obtain additional data, relevant to the puzzle of the nature of the *otohu*, on two main topics: the role of the mother's brother and the role of the *aguma*. According to Orokaiva ideal norms, as stated to Williams (1930: 187) and myself, the mother's brother (*epe*) is the proper relative to perform initiation. This rule, like all others, is frequently broken, but it is worthy of mention that if there is no *epe* available to officiate, there is absolutely no preference for finding a uterine kinsman as a substitute: any other male consanguine is considered suitable, and in fact a father or father's brother often officiates. When Orokaiva informants were asked why mothers' brothers have this special relationship with their nephews, I was always told it is due to the love between the mother and her brother, in other words the *du* relationship. It is definitely not due to any special bond with the matrilineage or maternal patrilineage.

Bestowal of the *otohu* is only one of a series of ritual benefits customarily provided by the *epe*. These benefits take the form of medicines (*zivo*). A man

group.(1) Group planting seems to have been the general pattern in other parts of the Territory too. In the Western District in particular, the Resident Magistrate initiated schemes for cash crop plantations being owned and operated by each village as a whole. Profits were to be used for projects which would be of benefit to the village community (P.A.R. 1913-14:12). About fifty such plantations were established under the scheme.

During this post-war drive (and probably in 1920) a government officer assembled the people of the nine villages(2) of the northern branch of the Asigi tribe and instructed them to choose a site and plant an area of coconuts for the nine villages as a whole.(3)

A central site was chosen near Ongoho on land belonging to the Akute'undi sub-clan (most of the members of which lived in Ongoho village), and about 500 coconuts were planted as a community project by the men of the nine villages.(4) They were to be used exclusively for copra making (there were ample coconut trees in the villages for domestic use) and work and profits were to be shared equally among the able-bodied men. Small plots of rubber and citrus trees had been established at Ongoho under the same scheme a year or two earlier. The citrus was intended to be used primarily as a latex coagulant for the rubber, and only secondarily as a cash crop.

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(1) In some instances in the coastal villages of the Northern District each individual planted his own trees, but all villagers planted in one "village" block on the land of one man or of one descent group.

(2) Ongoho, Hongorata, Ivisusu, Sowai, Weki, Ondahari, Oere, Girigirita and Heherita. Sowai and Weki were later abandoned and today their populations live together at a new village named Sotokoiari. Likewise Girigirita and Heherita have amalgamated and moved to a new site. The new village is called Girigirita.

(3) Data in this section of the report was collected by interview only in the villages concerned during April-May 1963.

(4) The annual reports show that in 1921 there were 518 coconut trees over five years old and 1,287 under five years old in the Asigi area. The nine villages listed above comprise about half of the total Asigi population. The 518 mature trees were probably those planted in the villages. Trees in the community block which did not survive were not replaced, and as the ground has not been cleared since the second world war, many have died. There were 198 trees still standing in 1963.

After 1958 most of the coffee produced by indigenous growers in the Northern District came from plots which were planted by individuals (largely as a result of agricultural extension services) and registered under the Higaturu Local Government Council land registration scheme. The communal project was formally abandoned in 1960 with the repeal of the Native Plantations Ordinance.(1) Crown lands reverted to the Crown and native lands to their owners. The Government has treated the Crown lands as reserves for the local people and has not taken any action to restrict their use as communal plantations. Today, however, only 9 of the 16 pre-war plantations which we visited are producing at all, and they at only a fraction of their potential output.

We traced the history of the Ongoho community block in detail in a series of separate interviews at each of the villages which had participated in the project.(2) The collapse of the project there was caused by disagreement over land rights, apportionment of work and distribution of income. The disputing parties were the various sub-clans which had participated in the project. The sub-clans may be roughly equated with villages.(3)

Before the war, strict control by the Administration precluded the emergence of these particular problems: the land had been demarcated and the trees planted under close supervision, fixed patterns of work were imposed, and the money was paid to each man by a government official. By the late 1940's however, the sanctions for failure to work were not in fact being exercised, and attendance was irregular. The Ongoho "coffee boss" who had been responsible for local supervision from about 1945 found the dissension too much to control and resigned in 1948. Little work was being done and the govern-

(1) The Native Plantations (Papua) Repeal Ordinance 1960.

(2) This was necessary because the issue is still very contentious and feelings about the disputes over the community gardens are still strong.

(3) In fact each village is regarded as being that of a particular sub-clan, despite the existence of smaller enclaves of other sub-clans in most of them. Marriage is usually (but not exclusively) between sub-clans and almost invariably within the Asigi tribal group.

## Foreword

121 The New Guinea Research Unit's current program includes a comparative study of changing agricultural and social systems among a number of groups of the Orokaiva people of Papua's Northern District. A wide variety of schemes for the development of agricultural land has been introduced there, especially over the last decade. As groups to be studied, samples were chosen which currently differ in their systems of land tenure, social organization and management of labour resources - to name the more striking general areas of difference without mention of factors which may be constant.

101 For the present report fieldwork was conducted at Sivepe village (also known as Sive) during December 1962 and January, February and early March 1963 with a brief visit again in May 1963. The basic subject of our study was a sample of 50 villagers.

128 Work in the field was shared by Burau, Ferraris and Rimoldi.
114 Of the results which are presented below, the substance of the observations on types of subsistence crops and associated methods of cultivation and on the techniques currently used in the husbandry and production of livestock and of cash-crops at Sivepe[1] is the contribution of Ferraris. He also prepared the preliminary drafts of maps from which he did most of the basic calculations of sizes of landholdings and areas under cultivation.

124 Among other tasks in the field, Burau had the role of interpreter. He also clarified many aspects of the relation of the Orokaiva to their land and contributed points to most parts of the report.

128 Our thanks are due to the people of Sivepe for their hospitality and co-operation, to Mr and Mrs C.E. Searle, who in many ways provided valuable assistance, to Mr and Mrs R. Cheetham, to the staff of the Department of District Administration, the Native Lands Commission and of the Anglican Mission at Agenahambo and Sasembata, who all gave generous help. For information and discussion we are indebted to these people, to Mr H. Plant, Mr R. Spinks and especially to Mr G. Hogbin, Mr P. Krinks and Mr E. Waddell.

[1] See Chapter 2, Sections b. and c. and Chapter 4, Section c.

121 that studied at Inonda - was the relationship between localized
125 landholding patrilineal groups and their resources. The first group selected was that known as Jegase, which is intermediate in size among the 3 major groups in the village; in order to free our sample of possible bias in its age-structure and other physical characteristics, we also included the smallest group, the Timumu. This addition happened to bring the size of the sample to 50 persons.

125 The inclusion of the second discrete patrilineal group slightly broadened the base of our enquiries, but study of the Jegase provided the most significant data on the subject of land tenure. The sample was made up of 12 households, 8 of them Jegase and 4 Timumu; 10 of the 12 houses contained a nuclear family, 1 contained a widower living alone and the other a widower and 2 close kinsmen dependent on him (see Genealogy on p.52 for links between [614] households). The third major group in the village is known as Seho. Jegase, Timumu and Seho are in fact the names of 3 non-exogamous dispersed patrilineal clans[1] with branches also in other villages containing such fragments of several clans. These fragmented descent units are social categories (see Ch.3) whose members do not have 'ipso facto obligations of a specific kind'.[2]

121 Our observations at Sivepe were supplemented by less systematic
[124] interviews with other villagers in what we will call 'the neighbourhood'. We find this term convenient, taking Sivepe as a point of reference, for a region which includes the villages whose members interact closely with Sivepe in the spheres of interest which we examined. It is not a social group even though there is only a small proportion of these villages outside the territory of the group named Awala.[3]

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[829] [1] Often referred to as clans by the people themselves, so that, with the possible exception of orope (see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:17), 'clan' seems to be the only current general term in local usage, which designates a distinct type of grouping based on descent.

[2] See definition of 'clan' in Royal Anthropological Institute, 1960.

628 [3] Its perimeter is about the same as the limits of the outermost of the local 'zones' within which a notable majority of Sivepe marriages have been concentrated over 3 genealogical generations (see p.48-9). There are suggestions of a tendency at Sivepe for intervillage visiting, associated generally with direct or secondary economic interests, to be confined to villages within such a spatial range, quite small compared with the wide network of similar links in the case of Inonda (P. Krinks and E. Waddell: personal communication).

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> would in effect be wasted, since at some point there is no alternative but to wait for crops and animals to mature. Similarly, in these three processes, failure of one member of the production organization to perform his role correctly would not ordinarily result in failure of the entire process. What is not done today can be done tomorrow, and what one person fails to do another can do at another time.

In fact it will be demonstrated that it may well be the particular nature of work in these societies which inhibits the extension of cash cropping and the fuller utilisation of available labour time. It is with these considerations in mind that the data relating to the activity patterns of the adult residents of the two villages are presented and analysed.

Method adopted

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The characteristics of the sample communities have been described in Chapter 4. The survey of activity patterns was confined to the adult members of these communities (i.e. those over the age of about fifteen years) in view of the very restricted amount of work observed to be done by younger people. By so doing a larger number of households could be included in the survey than would otherwise have been possible. The actual size of the samples was restricted, in the case of Inonda, by the population of the village itself while, at Sivepe, logistical considerations prevented more than 30 to 35 adults being surveyed at one time. The technique used was one of daily interviews associated with observations of all individual movements in and out of the village.

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Data were collected over three distinct periods amounting to a total of twenty-seven weeks,[1] the periods being selected in such a way as to cover expected seasonal variations in activity patterns (see Fig.5:1). Treating each community separately the form of presentation is such as, firstly, to describe its basic behavioural characteristics for the duration of the survey and for the individual periods, and secondly, to isolate internal variations, most particularly between cash and non-cash croppers but also according to such criteria as age and sex. All activities are covered, with the exception of eating, resting and sleeping; an activity being defined as covering all time spent between departing and returning to the village (or, in the case of intra-village activities, the start and finish of the task) and so including such related events as time spent travelling and resting. Some activities have, however, been broken down for further analysis on a detailed time and motion basis.

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[1] Twenty-six in the case of Inonda.

pigs and fowls available for feasts, there is no opportunity for the numbers of livestock to multiply, and demand always outruns the supply. Nor can the demand be met from neighbouring villages for they are beset with the same problem. Some European planters breed pigs for the local market and have no difficulty in obtaining £10 to £15 for pigs of moderate size to be killed for feasts. If the problem of the current customary obligation to make one's livestock available for feasting could be overcome, pig and poultry breeding for local consumption and local marketing would appear to be a fruitful source of cash income as well as of protein good.

## Economic trees

The most important trees in the Inonda subsistence economy are sago, coconut, betel nut, hauga nut, breadfruit, and pandanus. Sago is used for food as well as construction, while the others are used for food only. Information on economic trees was gathered by interview only and, except in instances where we were able to check during the course of other work, they were not counted on the ground. Economic trees are usually planted on land held by the lineage of the planter, but as rights to them are sometimes transferred by gift and inheritance between individuals of different lineages, sub-clans and clans, many persons hold rights to trees on land held by descent groups other than their own. Apart from a right of access, rights in trees do not entitle the holder to any rights in the surrounding land.

In addition to the rights of those born in Inonda, some wives claim rights to use economic trees in their home villages. They do not claim exclusive rights to specific trees,(1) but rather the right to harvest some produce from trees held by their fathers or brothers. This right is usually exercised only in the event of a shortage of food from the husband's land, or if the wife is on a visit home. During our stay we observed two persons exercising such rights - one to make sago about three

(1) With the exception of one woman who had been allocated specific coconut trees by her father.

# Twelve Orokaiva traders

W.J. Oostermeyer
and
Joanne Gray

## Introduction

443 This is a study of twelve Orokaiva entrepreneurs who have
121 engaged in retail trading with varying degrees of success.[1] With only two exceptions, each owns a cash crop also. All except one are accessible by road from Popondetta. Although the sample is reasonably representative of Orokaiva entrepreneurs, quite different patterns may emerge among the few more isolated Orokaiva entrepreneurs or among the non-Orokaiva entrepreneurs in other parts of the district.

121 Each subject will be signified by an alphabetic letter according
128 to the relative success of his store. The names of subjects can be made available for the purposes of further research.

Information on two subject, I and K, is incomplete and possibly inaccurate in some details. Both were away from home at the time, and the questions were answered by close relatives.

124 Language was a limiting factor. English was used with those who had an adequate command of it, but in a number of cases it was necessary to use an interpreter. Some meaning is always lost when communicating through an intermediary, and some entrepreneurs were reluctant to discuss some personal details with an interpreter. The evidence of this report is not substantial enough to permit definite conclusions, and those proffered must be regarded as tentative.

444 Group I comprises four traders who were not operating their
463 stores at the time of the survey. Group II comprises another four whose stores had an average monthly turnover of less than $50.00.
472 Group III comprises those with a turnover in excess of $50 a month.

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[101] [1] The data in this paper were collected by W. Oostermeyer between December 1965 and February 1966. The material was written up by Mrs Joanne Gray.

## Foreword

121 This paper is concerned with an experiment initiated in 1964 in the Northern District of Papua in which land previously held under 423 customary tenure has been converted to registered individual title in accordance with the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance 1963. Three main aspects of conversion were examined:

(i) the motivations and expectations of the people at one of the first conversion schemes, Ombi-Tara;

(ii) the effects of conversion on productivity, land use, residence patterns, work organisation, and social life at Ombi-Tara;

(iii) the cost to the government per acre and per block (i.e. farm) of tenure conversion in the Northern District.

127 Much of the data on the costs of conversion was collected from official files. Where recorded information was not available, 124 estimates based on interviews were used. The body of the Ombi-Tara data as set out in Chapters 3 and 4 was gained from personal interviews carried out between 9 January and 11 February 1966. During 122 these periods my assistants and I lived in the single men's house in Ombi village.

124 All males over the age of fifteen resident at Ombi-Tara were 115 interviewed with the exception of one old man. In addition we interviewed two 'outsiders' who have applied for blocks in the Ombi-Tara scheme. One is a man of the main clan at Ombi (Mumu) who now lives in a neighbouring village but intends to move to Ombi soon. The other is a Papuan Agricultural Assistant who is stationed at Ombi but whose home village is near Cape Killerton about forty miles away. Interviews were conducted in the local language through interpreters.

128 Interviewing has serious defects. The answers one gets can only be as good as the questions asked. Although we followed up all answers with probes and long, informal discussions, talking is a poor substitute for rigorous and sustained observation over a [121] period of years. The only justification for using this method is that time was short, and that this paper is intended only as an exploratory attempt to examine the operation of the 1963 land tenure conversion legislation in the only district where it has so far been applied.

I am indebted to the New Guinea Research Unit of the Australian National University for generous financial assistance. I wish to thank the Chief Commissioner of Land Titles (Mr D.J. Kelliher) and members of the Commission in Popondetta and Port Moresby; officers of the Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries in Popondetta, and of the Department of District Administration in Popondetta, who discussed various aspects of the project and assisted me in every possible way; Mr Cromwell Burau, Mr Russell Clarke and Mr Napier Boraba who helped greatly by interpreting both Orokaiva language and culture; Mrs Yvonne McMahon who typed a manuscript which was at times barely legible; and the Ombi-Tara villagers whose warmth, hospitality and enthusiastic co-operation made our stay so enjoyable. Helpful comments on an earlier draft were made by Dr R.G. Crocombe, Mr E.K. Fisk, Mr G.R. Hogbin, Dr R.T. Shand, Mrs S. Faircloth and Mr W. Standish. I am particularly grateful to Dr R.G. Crocombe, Executive Officer of the New Guinea Research Unit, for his advice and encouragement at all stages of the project.

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## II

My fieldwork in 1970 was planned to obtain Orokaiva texts describing and explaining the Orokaiva exchange system. In Sivepe, the principal village of my 1966–67 research, I found two very good Orokaiva informants willing to record on tape their reply to the question: 'what is exchange?'. The recordings, made in a single day, took the form of dialogues between the two informants after the style of radio interviews. I did not intervene except at the outset, to present the question.

Prior to the taped discussion, I tried to establish whether Orokaiva have any notions corresponding to Mauss's theory of the three general obligations of giving, receiving and repaying gifts. I had no difficulty in finding strong prescriptions for the first of these, namely giving. As for receiving and repaying, I searched assiduously for evidence of a general obligation but could find only a number of specific contexts where repayment was obligatory as well as some ritual contexts where receiving was obligatory. On the other hand, the general obligation to give turned out to be a key principle of Orokaiva ideology.

The verb for making a gift is *ikari* which also means 'to put down, to forward, to throw away' and in sexual intercourse, to ejaculate. In general, therefore, *ikari* implies a recipient, but not invariably. *Ikari* is ubiquitous in everyday life. A person makes and receives probably dozens of gifts in an average day. Nearly all these are small gifts which in themselves have little economic value: dishes of cooked taro, coconuts, areca nuts and the 'fixing' of betel nut, tauga nuts, tobacco and paper for rolling cigarettes. Some of these occasions for *ikari* involve two persons, donor and recipient, but many others involve several, namely one donor and several recipients. Coconuts, betel nuts, tauga nuts, tobacco are usually shared out by those who happen to have a supply to all those who happen to be around when the sharing out is done. The term for sharing out is *hande ari*; the word *hande* may be glossed as 'generous', 'generosity'. It applies irrespective of the economic value of the objects shared out. A man generous and clever in giving is called a *hande embo*.

This concept is distinct from that of reciprocity; the generous man is not, of course, he who gives when he expects a big return, but he who gives when he expects none. This aspect of *hande ari* is emphasised in ideological discourse, as an example of which I was quoted a simple story which, so I was told, Orokaiva parents teach their children. Some variants of this story are of great anthropological interest but the Orokaiva children's version given to me has the form of a simple moral tale.[4] The hero and his wife, both filthy, ill-dressed, covered in scabies, came from the coast to an inland village as part of a visiting party. The other members of the party were received hospitably and invited to stay in one or another of houses in the host village. The dishevelled couple, however, were left standing in the burning sun, as nobody wanted them for exchange partners. (Gift exchange partnerships between individuals tend to be established by just this kind of invitation by a man from the host group to a stranger from the guest group. When the stranger leaves for his home, his host

broader view of the social consequences of the eruption, and therefore included a third village, Hohorita, which lies at the centre of the area most deeply affected by the calamity. Sivepa, lying West of the volcano, escaped the full blast of the explosion; Inonda, to the East, was not directly affected at all, but Hohorita is a village made up of the survivors from Sangara villages situated in the blast area. Hohorita, as well as Kiorota which I visited briefly, has a far larger population than Orokaiva villages normally contain; these people were brought together, as a result of government organisation immediately after the eruption, from more than a dozen of the destroyed villages, comprise more than a dozen clans and constitute a new type of residential unit the origin of which may be directly traced to the eruption. Both Hohorita and Kiorota are situated on land owned by one of the constituent clans. With over 400 inhabitants, they face serious problems of factionalism. The government, which had an active hand in fostering them, had hoped they would solve basic problems of Orokaiva social fragmentation. In fact, one may almost say that the large consolidated village was a principal aim of government planning for the persons displaced by the eruption. Hence, it seems necessary to include consideration of this residential form in the present study.

Of the 12 months spent in the Territory of Papua, my wife and I lived in Orokaiva villages for more than 10 months, dividing the rest of the time between Port Moresby and the administrative centre of Popondetta. Most of the field period was spent in Sivepa, with three weeks in Inonda and five weeks in Hohorita. In Inonda we made use of a house previously used by the New Guinea Research Unit; in Sivepa a village house was built for us while at Hohorita we were squatting in an uncompleted village house--an unsatisfactory arrangement which accounts, in part, for the brevity of our stay. Fortunately, we had extremely competent research assistance at Hohorita, after we stopped residing there. The head teacher, Mr. Harold Haru, prepared extremely good genealogical records, showing residence of matrilateral and affinal kin as well as clan structure and residence.

The basic source of the material that follows are my own field notes. These are supplemented by government records, the publications on the Orokaiva and the eruption published by F. E. Williams, Reay, Belshaw, Keesing, Crocombe, Hogbin, Rimoldi, Waddell. I also collected tape recordings containing 50 basic documents in the Orokaiva language; transcriptions in Orokaiva and translations into English are available. A number of Europeans who were concerned with the administration of the temporary refugee camps were interviewed, including Dr. Gunther, Mr. F. Kaad, Mr. C. Searle, Mr. R. Hart and others too numerous to mention. Miss Nancy White, a mission teacher at Hohorita, apart from giving other help, put at my disposal a valuable collection of her diary notes, important letters written to her and Orokaiva texts collected at the Sasembata mission school in the years 1952 - 1953.

Section 3: The Day of the Eruption

121 As the eruption itself is the central event of this entire
128 report, I shall dwell upon it in some detail. I shall discuss it from five vantage points: the vulcanologist's, the experience of the Sangara people, the Sivepe and the Inonda people, and finally
133 the action of the administration. The vulcanological aspects have been fully dealt with in G. A. M. Taylor's book, The 1951 Eruption
731 of Mount Lamington, Papua (1958). Taylor writes: "At 1040 hours on Sunday, 21 January, 1951, a paroxysmal explosion burst from the crater and produced a nuée ardente which completely devastated a surrounding area of 68 square miles." This explosion had a marked resemblance to that of Mount Pelée at St. Pierre on Martinique in 1902, when 29,000 people perished in a few minutes. The effect of the Pelean type of explosion is very different from the more usual one which is called "Vulcanian," and which occurred, for instance, at the famous eruption of Vesuvius described by Pliny. One may compare it, rather, with the effect of an atomic bomb; the lethal effect of the nuée ardente seemed to be due mainly to sudden damage to the respiratory system caused by inhaling hot dust. Almost 4,000 people were killed. Destruction in the inner zone of devastation was almost complete: the rain forest on the slopes was flattened and in some places the earth was swept bare, not even stumps remaining as evidence of the previous forest cover. At Higaturu, six miles from the crater, only one house remained reasonably intact; most of the buildings on the government station were carried away. Of the people who lived in this inner zone of devastation scarcely a single one remained alive.

Taylor classified a further 2? square miles as "partially devastated," "a thin heated strip which bordered the abrupt edge of the zone of complete destruction." The survivors who saved themselves by running away from the blast all came from villages in this marginal area. The line of demarcation was rather precise; everyone from the Sangara mission station was killed, and this station lay just inside the borderline of the area of complete devastation. The people of Isivita, just outside the border of partial destruction, were mostly saved. The people now inhabiting Hoborita came from villages such as Tunana, Semmi, Sehundeturu, all of which lie in the area of partial devastation. From the village of Sombo, on the boundary of the area of complete devastation, one man escaped (Table 1).A

731 I interviewed members of 15 Hoborita households about their experiences during the day of the eruption. Some of them escaped
● [124] because they happened to have gone hunting, or were visiting their mother's relatives; one man who had gone to the Sangara church that morning was saved because he had gone home to Ambogo immediately

A [See Cat. 116, p. 205--Analyst]

628 Similar cooperation occurred in other specific tasks such as the organising of a dance at Saiho hospital, the marking off of ward boundaries, etc. The groups cooperating in this manner had no history of multi-village economic organisation; this was an innovation. There was, however, a long history of military alliances, kinship and friendship links and feasting relations between contiguous villages. I collected the kindreds, up to two degrees removed, of [124] 51 Sivepe informants, recording the birth place of each member. I found that the list of natal villages included 76 situated more than one mile from the site of New Sivepe, the great majority being situated in the area within a three mile radius. But strictly speaking, these were not consanguineal links between villages as the consanguineal networks of the various families differed considerably in location. Table 9 shows just how individual these networks were but it also shows that there were 10 villages where more than 10% of Sivepe informants have consanguineal links: these are places with which relations have always been very close as periodic contact was maintained with all these consanguines; meeting them less than once a year would not be quite right. [794] Today, meetings are much more frequent, as they tend to occur at the Sunday church services.

Section 4: Other Contacts with the Waseta "Tribe"

While contacts with people from within the Sasembata district are far more frequent than contacts outside it, there are only few families who do not have some kindred, with whom they can trace connection in the patri- or matriline, resident outside the Sasembata district. Considering that this district comprises an area of no more than some 20-25 square miles, such connections will occasion no surprise. I was struck, in fact, by the relatively small number of these connections--a full statistical analysis of the kindreds collected has not yet been completed, so that I cannot give statistics. They were with a relatively small number of villages, almost all from the district Williams marked as belonging to the Waseta tribe. Even the connections with these few villages have special explanations: incidents of warfare explain the present links with the Isivita villages and with Togahou. The links with Soroputa and Agenahambo are explained by the resettlement of these two villages which previously were situated much closer to Sivepe--their land actually adjoins Sivepe land. The close link with Avala (three miles from Sivepe) also has a special explanation beyond [438] [323] common clanship: Sivepe people were dependant upon Avala clay for the manufacture of pottery, an essential commodity until after the second world war. I have listed a few more villages which are "Waseta" but not "Sasembata," such as Waseta, Koropata, Ilimo, but these are mentioned only once or twice.

A [See Cat. 116, p. 214--Analyst]

829 I thought at first that this representation of Orokaiva history
173 (from the dark ages into a great future) was put on specially for my benefit. When I found Orokaiva were talking to each other in precisely the same terms, I thought that this view was held perhaps principally by persons with a vested interest, such as councillors, committee, etc. However, as I stayed longer, and became somewhat more trusted, I could still find no trace of nostalgia for customs that had been abandoned. I did, of course, become aware of the deep attachment the Orokaiva have for those of their traditional customs which they still practise, and values which they still hold.

[124] I shall quote in detail one document, a tape recorded speech
[126] made by a councillor in the Orokaiva language, which is typical of the present Christian Orokaiva self-group image. I have a number of others, consistent with this one in essence, though differing in some details to which I shall draw attention. Though Councillor Colin's speech was specially made up to be recorded by me on tape, during a session when several other recordings were made, its general tenor was no different from the speeches he interminably made at other times. The only slant that may have been unusual was the extent to which he referred to past history. I had asked, on this occasion for stories of olden times (iji matu). The councillor started with a brief sketch of the wars of his forebears; he stressed that he and his listeners were the descendants of strong fighting men who killed wayfarers as though they were dogs, and who conquered the lands of others. "Now, there is a new day, and therefore we must be united." Later, the councillor described, for my benefit, some of the traditional magic. But, he said, people did not get paid jobs, but Jesus Christ (first) gave jobs for people to take. The village constable would drag them to Kokoda in chains for having told lies, and the magicians would be put to work to stop them from being convicted. They would be fired from their jobs for idling. Such were the old days.

[177] This story stressed the most widely accepted differences between the old and the new way of life: war vs. peace, danger vs. security, division vs. unity, magic vs. Christianity, poverty vs. wealth, simplicity vs. smartness. The councillor was, in every respect, in
[625] favour of the new and opposed to the old way. He was not actually criticising the government, when referring to the activities of the
[769] village constables; nor was he criticising the village constables. On the contrary, the village constables of the early contact period are greatly revered; their names are remembered and recited in much the same way as those of other renowned ancestors. Those who were handcuffed this is the indignity remembered above all else--were lacking in smartness they just did not know the tricks for keeping out of trouble. The village constables, as I was also told at Hohorita, were the men who brought peace, who saw that people did not continue to fight each other.

At Hohorita, I had a series of discussions, at which a number of men participated, about Orokaiva history. On a number of points, which I could check, I was given reliable information. I would therefor

## CHAPTER VI: Government Welfare Efforts

### Section 1: Relocation Plans and Their Implementation

657 After the second world war, the Australian government became strongly oriented towards economic development of the indigenous population in its Territories. While before the war, the policy emphasis was perhaps more on the maintenance of law and order and the development of expatriate industry, it is after 1946 that we begin to find the active encouragement on a wide scale of co-operative societies, agricultural extension projects, marketing projects, rural progress societies, and later Native Local Government Councils, as well as other political and economic programmes. Even after 1946, progress was slow and in a recent survey, R. S. Parker suggested that "relative inattention to economic development up to 1960 have left a great leeway to be caught up under insistent pressures of time and external change." (1966: 189)

In 1951, shortly after the first eruption of Mount Lamington, the Hon. Paul Hasluck became Minister for Territories in the Australian Cabinet, and Sir Donald Cleland became Administrator of the Territories. One of the chief concerns of the new administration was to increase the scale, the level of technical competence and the concentration of effort in the departments concerned with indigenous development. (Parker. ibid. 195) The relocation policy in the Northern District is more easily understood if it is remembered that in 1951 a new central administration was eager to make rapid strides in economic and social development while the staff establishment and the "basic craftsmanship of the service" (Hasluck quoted in Parker, 1966) was not yet adjusted to these new objectives.

In considering Australian relocation policy, we must therefore keep in mind that there was a disparity between the more sanguine development objectives and the available resources. Furthermore, there was no real consensus in the administration on the scope that [124] should be given to the development objectives. When I interviewed persons concerned with the events of 1951, everyone told me that the establishment of the camps and the resettlement villages was principally a rescue operation, and that wider development objectives were only incidental. On the other hand, it was possible, from published [731] statements by Belshaw, 1951; Keesing, 1953; Plant n.d.; and interviews with Bishop Hand, Mr. F. Kaad and others, to piece together a quite different attitude to the disaster that must have been current in 1951 among high-level development-minded officials. According to this approach, the disaster offered a unique opportunity to try out some

191 experiences. The problem remains how ideas bearing on social and
[871] economic development can be systematically communicated. When I asked Orokaiva people what language they thought ought to be made official after independence is granted, English was hardly ever suggested. Some said Motu, others Pidgin. I was impressed, however, with the meticulous care the Orokaiva bestow upon their own vernacular.
212 Most of my informants could help me to get Orokaiva texts spelled
124 correctly (and their advice hardly ever conflicted); they were most precise about correcting my grammar and would laugh irrepressibly when a man made a grammatical slip in a speech recorded on tape--this was
121 a joke for days. I would therefore agree with Wurm that a language such as Orokaiva (spoken by at least 25,000) should be used for literacy work and for elementary education.

797 Teachers are trained both in the mission and the government
875 system, but the mission system is primarily aimed at training in Bible knowledge, religious doctrine and Christian values. In the early years of the mission any promising pupil, with two or more years of elementary schooling, might be chosen for training as a mission teacher. Certainly he would get some coaching in how to teach school, but the emphasis was above all religious. More recently, a number of courses were set up by government and mission teachers were encouraged to enter for such courses. The A course is open to men with a Standard 6 education and takes one year. The B course is open to men with a Form 2 education and takes two years. The administration insists on an A certificate as a minimum qualification; in the Northern District, new appointees were usually expected to have a B certificate. The mission is less fortunate; in 1966 in the Northern District, only 97 out of 274 mission teachers had either an A or a B certificate. Out of the Sasembata staff of 12, five were trained; out of the Hohota staff of four, one was trained.

875 The educational qualifications of the teachers are one more
191 reason why it is hard to teach with English as the language of instruction; most of these teachers speak little English themselves. English is their third-best language (next to vernacular and lingua franca) and most of them, even if they come from other districts, will still have more command of Orokaiva and Motu than of English. Many of those at Sasembata came from the Coastal district so that their vernacular was not Orokaiva, but a tongue closely akin to Orokaiva. Those who meet their pupils outside school would not speak English to them then, this being the least effective way they would have of communicating with each other.

875 Teachers' salaries are a subject that has continued to puzzle
465 me. Government teachers are paid according to a scale the bottom of which, in 1965, was $480 per annum. The mission pays $4 per month to Papuan teachers and $12 per month to expatriate teachers. In addition all mission teachers receive free housing, some gardening land to grow taro, occasional distribution of fringe benefits, such as Christmas gifts of used clothing from Australian supporters of the mission. In

159 external representation of Sivepe was at stake, the two men worked together admirably as a team. Lawrence solved the tricky problems of partitioning blocks shared between villages with a speed which would make any surveyor envious, and got agreement from the other parties because the solutions he proposed seemed fair. Robert carried out his own function of seeing that the working parties came together, that the clearing work was done for the survey posts, and so on. However, when I took them both to Popondetta in my car, they had very little to say to each other. When I told Lawrence who his companion was to be, he gave me a look of mock despair. (He had a different look of mock despair for my use of the Orokaiva language.)

[829] Robert was more deeply involved with mission values than any of the others. He was the only one to have recognised that our [176] civilisation actually does have some moral values. I recorded stories from a great many informants on tape--the subjects being usually [179] selected by the informant for these longer texts. Robert was the only one to have chosen themes overtly showing a mission influence: one story was about a Father Holland who was betrayed to the Japanese by Orokaiva during the war; the other story was his own version of Adam and Eve and the Fall, to which he gave a splendid Orokaiva twist: God, dismissing the couple from the Garden of Eden, said: "For a long time you will have sorrowful days and be sad, but also you will have happy days and be happy. Thus he spoke and all of us today live in this manner."

571 157 To conclude these impressionistic sketches, I shall suggest a contrast between the leadership of Sivepe and Inonda. When we consider the two men just described, or Samuel, the village constable, Robert's father and the councillor, an immigrant from Binduta, we notice that none of them stood out from the rest of the village by superior wealth. Certainly, Robert's father once gave a big feast in Sivepe; he had some savings and gave another small feast while I was in the village, but he stood out mainly in virtue of his role and his personality. The councillor was a consummate actor who exuded a great air of authority while he was in the council. But in Inonda, the village constable, Oriri, was at the same time an entrepreneur, the first cash cropper. He was also the occupier of a strikingly larger area of land than anyone else had. His son, Stephen, the driver, likewise was very much an entrepreneur, both in his cash-cropping ventures and in his attempt at a trade store, at trading in coffee, in vegetables and lately, his application for a loan to start a cattle farm. He is not intending to do the farming himself, but wants to have a younger brother-in-law trained, and he is to work under Stephen's supervision.

Both Stephen and Oriri still continue their interest in traditional observances. The father, who lives on a returned service-man's section where he grows cocoa, came back to his home village to act as feast leader in 1967. This was very much a traditional affair, with a proper feast house, a ceremony to call down the spirits, chants and dances for the spirits for several weeks, something Sivepe would

not care to do with the mission quite so close. On this occasion the village looked more harmonious than I saw it at other times; the pagan half was fully able to join in.

The main difference in leadership--the premise of equality in Sivepe, the "big man" complex (see Sahlins, 1963, etc.) in Inonda--is probably attributable to an organisational difference between the mountain and coastal villages. In all my contacts with coastal people I have noticed the same posture of the "big man" among the persons of high rank. In the Sasembata district, however, it is not so easily tolerated if a man tries to stand above his fellows. There was a talented entrepreneur in Hamburata village, but this man was more interested in heading a cooperative than in purely private or family aggrandisement. There are, however, cooperatives on the coast also, and the case of Inonda may not be a typical one.

## Section 4: Marginal Individuals

In this section the attempt at comparing the two villages broke down. This was because Inonda had as far as I know only one outstandingly marginal individual and shortly after I arrived they put him in jail. He had broken into a store with a hammer belonging to another villager; the other villager was apprehended by the police and successfully proved he had been framed.

In Sivepe, there were several marginal individuals some of whom became key personalities, I think, mainly because of our presence. Both our interpreters fell into that category. One of them was an unmarried mother and therefore already marginal. She was also extremely intelligent, knew English rather well, was the secretary of the women's club. Her position was weakened because her father and mother were both dead; the father of her child came from her father's village; she therefore had been sent to her mother's village. Here she reached prominence in the affairs of the women's club and as our interpreter (she always translated holding or feeding the baby, but most reliably) but her position in her mother's brother's house was a delicate one and she had to leave her mother's father's house where she lived earlier. Although she was attractive, and only 22 years of age, her chances of marriage were though extremely dim. She exploited to the full the chances of power provided by her association with us, especially in the earlier period when I understood no Orokaiva at all.

The other interpreter, also about 22, was Robert's younger brother. While Patricia, the women's club secretary, was extremely gregarious and adept at handling people, Leon, with a Standard 6 education, and the leading male expert in the English language and other school knowledge, was unusually shy. He was hardly ever seen talking spontaneously to any of the married men. He heartily disliked the interview situation and other duties that would draw him into the public. This tendency

was much less marked when I took him with me to Inonda. He was a bachelor who had a penchant for courting girls he was, for some reason, unable to marry. While we were in Sivepe, his girl friend, though belonging to the Seho clan was rather too closely related to him on her mother's side. Her father was Lawrence's elder brother and the Seho clan generally was strongly opposed to the union; they therefore treated the affair as incestuous. The mission had wanted to send Leon for training in hospital work. He had been doing some of this at Sasembata, and it would have suited him. His father opposed the idea, considering that his knowledge of English, etc. would be too useful to lose. When I came, his calculation proved right, for Leon's presence and employment drew me, for some months, into a position of much dependence on that family. Leon was the only young man who did not join in the drum dances, and who never sat with the other men. Perhaps, his bachelor status partly explains this, but another bachelor of the same age did not keep away to nearly the same extent.

One difference between Inonda and Sivepe was that in the former place there was only one family through which adaptive ideas and decisions were transmitted to the community, and in practise only one man, whereas in Sivepe, there was a variety of influences: the Seho leader, the two older, and in many ways totally different older Jegase leaders, and several younger people each with their own fund of experience which helped them to interpret a changing social situation. This difference results not only from a different organisational pattern (based respectively on the "big man" and the equality ideology) but also from the mere difference of size. It may be argued that some at least of the multitude of avenues through which the modern world was made accessible to Sivepe was due to post-eruption measures in the resettlement villages. Of the leaders discussed here, however, not a single one (except the two young interpreters who were scarcely leaders) was educated in the post-eruption period. They may have been influenced by their close association with the mission; if so, it is hard to say to what extent this association explains their present attitudes. One may safely say that the association with the mission at the present time reinforces the change-directed ideology of Sivepe leadership.

Much depends on the success of the policies now being advocated by the government. If these are successful in raising living standards and hold promise of yielding the wealth and power expected of them (that is, a gradual increase of wealth and power), then the direction of change observed since the war will continue to be followed. People will then be willing to make ever more drastic modifications of old ritual and finally, perhaps, the traditional conceptual system will break down in favour of a different system. On the other hand, Orokaiva are not unprepared if these promises remain unfulfilled and if living standards should actually drop again, a possibility by no means to be ruled out as the economic future of New Guinea export products is very uncertain. In that case, millennial movements, relying on traditional magical procedures, are an ever-open possibility.

At the present time, Orokaiva are not taking a defensive position about their abandonment of old customs, as they regard this a reasonable consequence of accepting the "new day." Nor do they act defensively when they observe traditional custom. They reinterpret such observance by means of the kind of ambiguities I have outlined. In fact I cannot conceive of any situation in which an Orokaiva will behave defensively. I would not call their ambiguities rationalisations either: when they use terms like "birthday party" or "practise," they are not rationalising their ceremonies as part of a new Christian way of life but they are merely saying that these ceremonies are capable of bearing a second meaning, in the context of a Christian system. Upon further inquiry, the anthropologist finds that his informants can explain the original system in much detail whereas a concept such as that of a "birthday party" in the Western sense is left in a total vacuum, as the day and even the year of birth of a child is hardly noted.

## Section 2: Controls Operating for and Against Continuance of Tradition

In an earlier chapter I described a ceremony for children about to start their new school year. It was a kind of farewell feast, which certainly made the children feel that they were off to an important assignment to an alien world. But it also carried a second kind of message: that the world of the school begins outside the village boundaries. When the children came back to the village (which was every night) they resumed their ordinary roles in the Orokaiva scheme. The children felt no conflict of loyalties inside the village; village life had been sufficiently adapted to remove glaring inconsistencies between the rules of village and mission station. It was a little different for my interpreter who had been to Martyr's School and who therefore knew various Christian concepts unfamiliar to other villagers. This made him feel a little superior when he talked to me; he would tell me what "the others" believed, adding that he knew how matters

really stood. In this, there may have been a certain hollowness; I never saw among all the Orokaiva a young man who was as scared of his affines as this one. One reason why I employed the young woman as second interpreter was that nothing would induce him to open his mouth when I wanted to talk to his classificatory father-in-laws. In all significant respects, then, he offered little challenge to accepted tradition.

Children were trained by their parents in the prevalent system of custom and belief, as modified by recent changes; they maintained their traditional regard for their elders, not regarding their school knowledge as giving them any claims to superiority. Their elders did, as far as I know, make no use of the knowledge their children gained at school; my two interpreters were the technicians when letters had to be written or other newfangled problems solved. Everyone in the village, including ourselves, were expected to fulfill reciprocal obligations in the community; the acculturated young were certainly expected to help their kinsfolk, especially if their knowledge had yielded cash. Even those absent on jobs in town were always asked (and occasionally expected) to help. There was only one partial escape from community obligations and that was to live outside the village. Migrants knew that whatever possessions they had amassed away from home would soon have to be shared out if they returned to Sivepe. While they were away, they could more often refuse demands with impunity. But they knew that unsatisfied claims tended to be stacked up against their return. Some claims were purely try-ons. I have myself been the communicator of such claims from a Kongohambo man to his kinsmen in Port Moresby; I could see that the response to some of them was merely hearty laughter. But others, communicated at the same time, were taken seriously; some gift had to be made.

The penalty threatening an absentee who neglected his kin had to be paid when that absentee returned; especially when that absentee wanted to resume possession of his land holdings. Little would it benefit him that certain lands had been left to him by his father, for during his absence, other men had been "looking after" them. If he had neglected these men, his rights would be hard to reassert; the community would give him little sympathy. If he had been generous during his absence, he could be strong in his claims; his relations would then show him benevolence. Rights could be kept warm only by constant exchanges; a moratorium of more than one year begins to be risky. While a man is in town, the exchanges seem unequal; money or clothes go to the village; some taro are sent to town (when I went to Port Moresby I was given a sack of these to carry, to be distributed by a knowing relative in town).

For those who remain in the village, the sanctioning mechanisms are mostly informal. Failure in one's obligations means loss of status, leads to gossip, derogatory remarks to one's face, perhaps even a harangue at night by a man at the other end in the village.

# 125

125 TESTS AND SCHEDULES--description of tests used (e.g., intelligence, projective); schedules and questionnaires employed (e.g., preparation, pretesting); administration of tests, schedules, and questionnaires; sampling techniques; methods of scoring; use of control groups; special experiments; census-taking by author; etc. See also:

Results of tests of sensation and perception . . 181
Results of aptitude and intelligence tests . . . 183
Results of personality tests . . . . . 187, 189

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva



824 262 827 [721] hunting territories and the like. Thus the Orokaiva regard themselves as stronger than Managalase (certainly they are more numerous as their fertile land can support a far denser population), which served to show the superiority of taro over yam.

The taro myth discussed above may therefore be recognised as a charter for two contrasting types of taro gift made by Orokaiva. Woman provides cooked taro domestically but man, in providing the raw feasting taro, employs taro as a symbol of fighting strength. Heaped up in the manner of sacrificial victims, they are given to guests, not so much to express commensality as to display and offer for consumption the competitive strength of the donating group.

824 773

## 4. *A Survey of Taro Gifts*

824 431 125 128 One special interest that taro gifts hold for the field anthropologist is their great frequency which opens the possibility of statistical analysis of a fairly large number of gifts of a fairly homogeneous kind. Twenty-two households were visited daily (or almost daily) providing a record of taro gifts made over twenty-eight days from 31 January to 10 March, 1967. Informants were asked to whom they had sent presents during that day and from whom they had received presents. The survey provided useful incidental information about visitors who had been in the village during the day without my knowledge, and about gifts of objects other than taro. For the purpose of analysis I ignored gifts made to persons not resident in the village, as these were scattered over a great many villages and the survey period was not long enough to establish statistical regularities. Waddell reported that 40 per cent of taro gifts were made to persons outside the village (Sivepe), 10 per cent to villages within one mile of Sivepe, 14 per cent to villages situated between one and two miles from Sivepe, 9 per cent to more distant villages and 6 per cent to expatriate centres. (1968: 218). The statistics compiled by Waddell, however, are in terms of weight rather than the number of gifts. A gift of cooked taro made within a village was for one meal only (averaging perhaps 5 lbs.) while a gift of raw taro made to visitors from other villages or at feasts was more likely to weigh at least 25 lbs. Thus the number of gifts made to persons other than villagers was less than 10 per cent of the total.

As I intend to draw some significant conclusions from the statistics of intra-village taro gifts, it is relevant to describe briefly some difficulties I had in collecting these statistics. The fact that households were asked to report on gifts received as well as gifts made provided an effective check, as ideally all items should have been mentioned twice, once by the donor household and once by the recipient household. People very often forgot to tell me of some of the gifts received and made. Some people were most likely to forget what they had received; others would forget what they had given. If my study had been biased towards psychological anthropology, the frequency of these types of memory lapses among individuals might have given me a basis for establishing a typology of exchange partners. I soon found that nobody claimed gifts they had not actually made or received

From the first day of the survey it became obvious that my questions, simple though they seemed, contained an unexpected ambiguity: should the informant

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva



include gifts to persons of the same household? It would have been easy enough to lay down a rule that this kind of gift should be excluded from the survey and nor mentioned by informants, but I decided that it was not for me to start defining to the Orokaiva what was meant by a phrase like *ba ikari* 'to give taro'. Evidently food given to household members was, in certain circumstances, regarded as a gift. I recorded a total of 265 such 'transactions' from fourteen households during the survey period. Among those who mentioned such 'transactions' were some of my most helpful informants. At the beginning of the survey, household members were only sporadically mentioned but the number of mentions increased as the survey proceeded, until a pattern emerged.[2] A gift of food from wife to husband was never mentioned. A gift to a household member other than a natural or adopted child of one or both of the marriage partners was always included. Married daughters and sons old enough to live in a bachelor's house were always included. What confused informants most was how to regard gifts to younger sons and daughters.

Some parents included their children if they were old enough to be of school age. Others included the boys if they had gone through the 'birthday' ceremony which nowadays takes the place of initiation and included the boys if they had been through puberty seclusion. Others again did not include their dependent children at all. There was no uniform pattern. I ascribe the confusion to two factors: first, it used to be customary for children to start working in the garden at a very early age, doing whatever was within their capacity and making some contribution to the household economy. Boys would be given their own small garden plots at an early age and their sisters would fulfil some feminine tasks (planting, harvesting) in these plots. When schooling became general in the district, the children ceased making that kind of contribution. Secondly, school 'lunches' were mostly taken by the children every morning and eaten on the school grounds. These lunches were identical in form to the intra-village taro gifts: they were a meal of cooked taro cooked by the mother and taken out of the home.

Intra-household taro gifts were reported to me in too inconsistent a fashion to permit statistical analysis, but they were interesting as they revealed the household to be, in itself, a minuscule exchange system. This system was intact to a greater extent in Hohorita, where schooling ends at grade 3, than in Sivepe where adolescents are mostly at school rather than in the garden. At Hohorita adolescents grew and (if they were females) harvested vegetable food, gave this to their mothers, and their mothers fed and looked after them. The same principle applied in Sivepe to adults living with their adult and married children, brothers or sisters. Even very old men and women do what gardening they can to make a contribution. The record shows, in the case of some of these old people, that they made hardly any contribution at all during the survey period. As this was a period when taro was becoming scarce, their small gardens were exhausted, but a few months later some of them would again have crops of their own.

Most of the older people who thus depended on gifts for their sustenance were not fed by one household only, though usually one household bore most of the burden. However, wherever there was a helpless old person, there were always at least two regularly contributing households in addition to the one to which that person was attached. We must distinguish, among the Orokaiva,

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva



824 431 125 592 between co-residence and commensality, notions which the Orokaiva themselves clearly do not regard as synonymous. Persons who are co-resident are always, in practice, at least in part commensal, they are not necessarily wholly so. Not only old people but also bachelors and young women, single or married, receive gifts of taro from other households of which they are the specific recipients. Food they receive in their own residence may therefore be classed as a gift if they have not supplied raw food to the housewife on the same day.

824 431 621 128 To what extent is there a notion that food gifts should be balanced as between donor and recipient? According to the statistics, perfect balance is uncommon and occurs most often where exchanges are somewhat infrequent. In Table VI/1, I classified households according to the degree of balance in all intra-village taro gifts made to persons resident in other households. The code number 0 indicates perfect balance in the total number of gifts sent and received; the code number 6 indicates an imbalance greater than the proportion 75:25. Intermediate code numbers indicate a lesser amount of imbalance. At first sight, Tables VI/1 and VI/2 suggest that little importance is attached to balance in food gifts. In more than half the households, the total imbalance exceeds the proportion 60:40. Nor does there seem to be an ideological charter enjoining a person who has received a food gift to return that gift in the near future. The donor says he expects no return gift. If one asks him why he has made the gift he never mentions services or gifts received in the past for which he may be reciprocating. He will say, 'because that man is my wife's father's sister's son' or whatever the kinship relation may be.

A more careful look at the figures, however, makes one wonder whether such indifference to balance is the whole story. Some informants stated that though the donor expects no return gift, the recipient often likes to make one. Some families are more punctilious than others in this respect. The most punctilious of all was the leading family of Seho (H5, H12, H13, H14, H20, H21). They all had an imbalance smaller than the proportion 55:45. Only one other household in the sample achieved this low score.

[737] In most of the households where there is an extreme inbalance, the explanation is that the household contains aged people who require help, or that the household is deeply involved in giving help to aged people. This factor accounts for the inbalance in households 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 18, 18a, and 19. The imbalance in households 8 and 9 is explained by the fact that householder 8 was [166] helping householder 9 to build a house. Householders 5, 15, and 17 were immigrants from Garombi who gave more than they received, probably because of an anxiety to become accepted and build up good relations in their new place of residence.

824 431 571 621 Finally, the notion of balance is implicit in the timing of many of the taro gifts. It was a very common practice indeed to make a return gift on the same day as a gift of taro had been received, or on the day immediately following. Though informants told me they were under absolutely no obligation to respond so urgently or to respond at all, the record shows that in practice they frequently did so. We must therefore conclude that the Orokaiva do have some notions which lead them to reciprocate taro gifts, even though there is no rule enjoining immediate balanced exchange.

I would suggest that the Orokaiva proceed from a notion that taro is a

177 time the process of readjustment and restoration was still a
648 major question demanding attention. A few years later the third misfortune occurred.

731 The eruption of Mt Lamington, which caused catastrophic loss of life and dispossessed many people of their land,[1] left deep impressions on the minds of the survivors, particularly an acute sense of guilt which has been widely remarked upon. They felt that God had punished them for not helping the Allies enough during the war, and for not heeding the wishes of the mission and the administration. Some observers ascribed both the marked spirit of co-operation noticeable in evacuation camps and the avowed intentions of many to obey government directions in the future, to these negative feelings (Belshaw 1951:3-6; Keesing [101] 1951:5). By this time 'population trends indicate that with the present percentage of children, there are likely to be considerable increases in the future' (Plant 1951:4). The area was [464] closed for recruiting but this did not solve the problem of the [799] supply of labour for reconstruction because men were drawn back to their casual jobs on local rubber plantations and the mission asked each village to work a day a week rebuilding mission stations (Belshaw 1951:8).

657 After the war, compensation was paid for property of the
[731] villagers which had been damaged or destroyed, and following the eruption a programme of resettlement and rehabilitation was instituted.

121 For our investigations, Sivepo was chosen from the villages in
127 the Saiho Census Division mainly because it had been one of the sample villages in the Survey of Indigenous Agriculture conducted by government departments of the Territory and of Australia on behalf of the Food and Agriculture Organization's World Survey of Subsistence Agriculture. Information from the survey has provided quantitative material which, though summary, is directly comparable with results of our short survey of subsistence cultivation. The F.A.O. survey's sample was chosen by statistical methods.[2]

121 The interest which governed our own selection of a sample of
●125 manageable size from among Sivepo villagers - and comparable with

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[1] Several thousand of the Orokaiva on the slopes of the volcano were killed by the clouds of hot dust emitted at about 200 m.p.h. and 200°C. Sivepo was just beyond the limits of the area destroyed. The villagers spent about a year's enforced absence in evacuation camps (see p.76), but some neighbouring people who survived were absent from their land for far longer periods.

[2] Walters 1963:4.

that studied at Inonda - was the relationship between localized landholding patrilineal groups and their resources. The first group selected was that known as Jegase, which is intermediate in size among the 3 major groups in the village; in order to free our sample of possible bias in its age-structure and other physical characteristics, we also included the smallest group, the Timumu. This addition happened to bring the size of the sample to 50 persons.

The inclusion of the second discrete patrilineal group slightly broadened the base of our enquiries, but study of the Jegase provided the most significant data on the subject of land tenure. The sample was made up of 12 households, 8 of them Jegase and 4 Timumu; 10 of the 12 houses contained a nuclear family, 1 contained a widower living alone and the other a widower and 2 close kinsmen dependent on him (see Genealogy on p.52 for links between households). The third major group in the village is known as Seho. Jegase, Timumu and Seho are in fact the names of 3 non-exogamous dispersed patrilineal clans[1] with branches also in other villages containing such fragments of several clans. These fragmented descent units are social categories (see Ch.3) whose members do not have 'ipso facto obligations of a specific kind'.[2]

Our observations at Sivepe were supplemented by less systematic interviews with other villagers in what we will call 'the neighbourhood'. We find this term convenient, taking Sivepe as a point of reference, for a region which includes the villages whose members interact closely with Sivepe in the spheres of interest which we examined. It is not a social group even though there is only a small proportion of these villages outside the territory of the group named Awala.[3]

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[1] Often referred to as clans by the people themselves, so that, with the possible exception of orope (see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:17), 'clan' seems to be the only current general term in local usage, which designates a distinct type of grouping based on descent.

[2] See definition of 'clan' in Royal Anthropological Institute, 1960.

[3] Its perimeter is about the same as the limits of the outermost of the local 'zones' within which a notable majority of Sivepe marriages have been concentrated over 3 genealogical generations (see p.48-9). There are suggestions of a tendency at Sivepe for intervillage visiting, associated generally with direct or secondary economic interests, to be confined to villages within such a spatial range, quite small compared with the wide network of similar links in the case of Inonda (P. Krinks and E. Waddell: personal communication).

423 clansmen or other kin of members of the group. But this takes the
[614] form of a request to these kin to attend and to bring the food with them and the group could never demand access to the resources of others.

Table 3

Rights to economic trees

| | No. of trees | % of total |
|---|---|---|
| Planted by rightholder or his father on their own land | 463 | 62 |
| Planted by rightholder (or others) on land of another clansman in Sivepe or elsewhere | 55 | 7 |
| Planted by rightholder on land of matrilateral kin | 22 | 3 |
| Planted by others on land of his matrilateral kin | 31 | 4 |
| Planted by rightholder on land of affines | 43 | 6 |
| Planted by rightholder (or others) on land of cognatic kin of another clan | 14 | 2 |
| Planted within village sites | 120 | 16 |
| | 748 | 100 |

241 f. Equipment

The hardwood dibbling stick, ti, is still used universally for planting taro. Other tubers are sometimes planted in mounds made with a shovel but all of the 4 shovels used by members of the sample had been found (at World War II Army dumps) or had been given to the owner. Every householder owned at least 1 bushknife for use in clearing, weeding and harvesting; all had 1 axe or sometimes 2, and at least 1 grass knife. A few of these tools had been received as gifts. Two householders had picks and 2 others had both hammer and saw, while 2 men had only a saw.

435 Total current replacement value of all these tools, including those found or received as gifts, is £50.6.0d.

The 2 shotguns owned by 2 men would cost roughly £30 each (apart from licences).

g. Labour

461 We conducted a pilot survey of the patterns of work among
●125 members of our sample for 6 weeks.[1] Approximate times were

[1] From 10.12.62 to 20.1.63 a similar survey was carried out at Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:61) and fuller studies by P. Krinks and E. Waddell are now being prepared for publication.

461 recorded every afternoon, when each able-bodied adult was asked
125 how he had distributed his working hours. Of the population of 50, 25 were able-bodied persons over the age of 16.[1] These fall into 2 distinct categories according to age. Seven householders are between the ages of 45 and 65 years, and the other 5 between 25 and 35 years of age. There were no younger men or boys over 15 years in the village. Five of the women were aged 45 or more, 3 were between 25 and 30, and 3 younger women whose husbands were absent in employment, were staying with their kin in the village. One Jegase woman was a total cripple.

857 Nine of the 24 children attend school and 11 are 5 years of age
[871] or under. The rest, 2 boys and 2 girls in the 10-15 age group gave only intermittent assistance in garden work. The boys would often go hunting but were not engaged in productive work as regularly as their elders. The girls had a relatively heavy schedule of domestic chores.

592 The household containing a nuclear family is the basic unit of production and consumption. Members of an expanded family usually make their gardens on adjacent plots and the men usually co-operate in the heavier clearing work. Its members usually travel together to their gardens, but each household then cultivates its garden [462] alone. Apart from the harvesting, which is the task of women, the division of labour between sexes in gardening activities seems to be flexible in each household. Women assist in clearing undergrowth for new gardens and men join them in planting and weeding. It will be seen from Table 4 that men spent nearly as much time as the women in subsistence gardening during our survey. A

342 House-building is carried out generally by the householder and
476 any adult sons, with only occasional assistance from a neighbour
[462] or another kinsman. Wives sometimes help to prepare materials such as sago thatch for the roof.

[824] Larger work-groups than these are seldom mobilized for subsis-
[461] tence activities.[2] One or 2 men can readily clear enough secondary growth for their own needs and little co-operation is

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[1] Included among these were 1 man whose activity was restricted by tuberculosis, and another very old man. However, both maintained their own gardens.

[2] E. Waddell (personal communication) suggests that assistance with house-building is not 'occasional' but 'considerable' especially with making roofs; he also points out that large work-groups are assembled for harvesting yams (which do not need to be left in the ground for storage). Neither type of co-operation was in evidence during our short survey of work patterns.

A. [See Category 461, p. 28--Analyst]

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

## Preface

The New Guinea Research Unit has undertaken several studies among the Orokaiva as part of a programme of research into systems of land tenure and their relationship to economic development.[1] The present enquiry was designed to extend the information gained from these studies through an analysis of the organisation of work and the patterns of exchange among communities practising both subsistence gardening and cash cropping. 121

More specifically, it was concerned to ascertain whether the requirements of the subsistence sector of the economy impose limitations on the expansion of activities in the monetary sector and, conversely, whether participation in the monetary sector involves restrictions on subsistence activities. Within this framework attention was directed to observing the extent of participation in commercial activities, how cash is used, whether periodic peaks of labour occur in the two sectors and whether there are common factors in the backgrounds of people cultivating cash crops. Brief consideration was also given to other phenomena influencing the relationship between the two sectors: the physical environment, the social system, the system of land tenure, the types of cash crops grown and the nature of the people's contacts with innovating agencies (principally the Administration and the Anglican mission).

### Method of investigation

Simultaneous enquiries were conducted in two villages, Sivepe and Inonda, in the Higaturu Local Government Council area of the Northern District. Both had been the subject of earlier studies conducted under the auspices of the New Guinea Research Unit and much background information was available. Census data, an inventory of material possessions (including trees and livestock) and details of cultivated areas were collected. Daily records of all activities and transactions for the same individuals were entered on two schedules: (i) work organisation and (ii) acquisition and disposal of goods, cash and services. Diaries were kept to record [101] 1250

[1] See New Guinea Research Bulletin, numbers 2, 4, 6, 11, 13, 16 and 17.

125 interviews, expressed opinions, and other relevant data. Daily meteorological observations were made in Sivepe village.

121 [101] The survey was conducted over three separate periods during 1964-65: 3 February to 3 May, 20 July to 30 August,[1] and 9 November to 3 January. These periods were selected, on the basis of available rainfall data and information in earlier Northern District studies, to cover supposed seasonal variations in weather and hence variations in the intensity of different social and economic activities.[2] [101] Due to the intensive nature of the enquiry, it proved difficult to extend day-to-day investigation beyond two months.

[101] In addition, the researchers spent some time in the Northern District and Port Moresby collecting demographic and economic statistics, information on marketing facilities and the policies and activities of the external agencies operating in Popondetta sub-district. This information was designed to place the selected villages in a regional perspective.

114 128 The gathering of field data was shared equally between the authors, with Waddell working in Sivepe village and Krinks in Inonda; each is therefore responsible for the sections specifically dealing with his respective village. Joint responsibility is assumed for Part I but the preambles and discussions in Parts II and III and the whole of Part IV are attributable to Waddell.

Acknowledgments

128 [122] [114] The study was made possible by a generous grant from the Rural Credits Fund of the Reserve Bank of Australia. In the execution of it the authors owe their principal debt to the residents of Sivepe and Inonda villages for their patience and co-operation over a period of more than seven months when they were exposed to often seemingly indiscreet daily observation and questioning. Vivid memories are retained of their hospitality and friendship. Amongst them Mr Stephen Oriri was pre-eminent. The important role played by our Orokaiva assistants, Messrs Kephas Gibobo, Walter Sivure and Nigel Tiriembo, must also be acknowledged.

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[1] In the case of Inonda, no data were collected in the tenth week of the first period, and the second period was from 27 July to 6 September.

[2] It is appreciated that this is an arbitrary basis if one considers the concept of a year to be valid only in terms of seasonality of climate. The various facets of social and economic activities might operate on cycles of different and varying lengths, as evidenced by the 'pig cycles' of the New Guinea highlands.

station with Boru on the main road near Awala and passing within a mile of Sivepe, but it was not completed by the onset of the wet season. It was intended that this would be used by the OCGS and other purchasers of produce. This was the main reason for the Sivepe people's decision to move their village to a site within 200 yards of Sasembata mission station.

Sasembata mission is a head station of the Anglican mission. Among its facilities are a church, administered by an Orokaiva priest, a hospital and infant welfare clinic run by a Papuan medical orderly but supervised from the Administration hospital at Saiho, and a primary school with 400 children on the roll.[1] The school includes classes up to Standard V and is headed by an Australian with the assistance of ten Papuan teachers. A small trade store is operated by Oro Ltd at Kongohambo village adjoining the mission station.

Sivepe itself is laid out as a line village, with lineage members tending to occupy adjoining houses (see Map 4). The houses have a mean size of 229 sq ft and are built entirely of local materials, with the exception of nails which are now commonly used.

Three clan branches are represented in the village and two of these, the Jegase and Timumu clans,[2] comprised the survey sample (55.3 per cent of the total village population of 114 in January 1964) the characteristics of which reveal them to be representative of the population as a whole.[3]

The population of the sample declined by 20.6 per cent, from 63 to 50 persons, over the survey period. Ten of the 17 departures migrated to other villages and the rest sought wage employment within the district or in Port Moresby. This continuing out-migration intensified certain characteristics of the village's labour force, for by January 1965, 37.8 per cent of the potential adult male labour force was absent, the majority on a long-term basis in unskilled or semi-skilled work or low-ranking positions in government service.[4] In three cases, wives and children remained in the village and were supported by close kin. In January 1965, there were only two men remaining in the 20 to 34 years age groups.

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[1] An estimated 80 per cent of the children in the area receive some schooling.

[2] Clansmen also reside in twelve other villages, all within a radius of 3.7 miles of Sivepe.

[3] See Appendix 1 and Fig. 4:1.

[4] See Appendix 2.

A, [See Category 163, p. 307--Analyst] B, [See Category 162, p. 39--Analyst]

C, [See Category 166, p. 308--Analyst]

433 subsistence holdings in Sivepe, three individuals had no producing staple foods in their gardens.

592 Three of the fifteen households surveyed comprise only a single member. Two of these were a married couple who were considered, for the purposes of the survey, as separate households on the grounds that the wife lived for only short periods with her husband, dividing most of her time between her brother's and her father's houses instead.[1] The husband and the third individual, an old man, lived in their own houses, although the former abandoned his on departure from the village in August. One widowed woman and her children had no house of their own but shared those of primary kin until the end of March when she left to marry a man in another village. A second family left at about the same time, in search of wage employment. Thus, by November 1964, the number of households had fallen to twelve while for most purposes the separated woman (household 8) had become a member of her parent's household (14).

All the identified households cultivated separate gardens. For most of the survey period, two households had attached to them the wives and children[2] of two men at work outside the District. Both household heads, in establishing a garden, set aside a portion for the sole use and responsibility of these women, as they were expected to contribute to the household's food requirements.

(a) Food gardens

24 125 A detailed survey was made of the holdings of seven households, selected to provide a cross-section of the community in terms of status of head, structure of household and involvement in cash cropping. These data were then compared with that collected by Rimoldi almost two years previously (see Tables 4:1 and 4:2). While the small size of the samples, 11 and 7 households respectively, makes it dangerous to draw conclusions, a few observations can be made.

Table 4:1 reveals a fall of 44 per cent in the average size of holdings planted with taro (Colocasia) and sweet potato. In 1964, the maximum sizes of taro and sweet potato areas were much lower than in 1963. This is offset, however, by very substantial increases to three and nine times (respectively) in the average plantings of yams and Xanthosoma. The holdings of two young household heads were responsible for almost all of these increases.[3]

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[1] i.e. effectively there were only 14 households, as recorded in Appendix 1.

[2] In one case, the daughter of the household head and her son, and in the other, the man's wife and her son.

[3] One has established a yam garden of 0.16 acres and the other a Xanthosoma garden of 0.15 acres.

Table 4:1

Sivepe: mean garden areas under cultivation, 1963 and 1964*
(acres)

| Garden | Per head of population | | Per able-bodied person (over 16) | | Per household | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1963 | 1964 | 1963 | 1964 | 1963 | 1964 |
| Currently producing | 0.14 | 0.05 | 0.27 | 0.10 | 0.57 | 0.20 |
| Planted but not producing | 0.12 | 0.11 | 0.23 | 0.20 | 0.48 | 0.43 |
| Cleared only | 0.10 | 0.04 | 0.20 | 0.08 | 0.43 | 0.17 |
| Total area under cultivation | 0.36 | 0.20 | 0.70 | 0.38 | 1.48 | 0.80 |

* Feb. 1963, 11 households, Dec. 1964, 7 households, all of which were included in the preceding survey.

Table 4:2

Sivepe: food plants per household, 1963 and 1964*

| Crop | | Average | | Range | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1963 | 1964 | 1963 | 1964 |
| Taro (Col.) | (acres) | 0.97 | 0.54 | 0.39-2.30 | 0.40-0.72 |
| Sweet potato | (acres) | 0.07 | 0.04 | nil-0.20 | nil-0.07 |
| Bananas | (plants) | 71 | 128 | 35-126 | 73-231 |
| Sugar-cane | (clumps) | 34 | 40 | 11-54 | 21-99 |
| Ina | (plants) | 88 | 54 | nil-400 | 24-104 |
| Yams | (vines) | 65 | 202 | nil-136 | nil-892 |
| Manioc | (plants) | few | 10 | few | 2-30 |
| Xanthosoma | (plants) | 28 | 252 | nil-91 | nil-1027 |
| Corn | (plants) | 223 | 65 | nil-442 | nil-157 |
| Pineapples | (plants) | nil | 4 | nil | nil-24 |
| Cucurbits | (vines) | 13 | 5 | 9-28 | nil-14 |
| Shallots | (plants) | few | 1 | few | nil-6 |
| Beans | (plants) | 17 | 15 | nil-110 | nil-63 |
| Tomatoes | (plants) | nil | 1 | nil | nil-3 |

* Feb. 1963, 11 households, Dec. 1964, 7 households, all of which were included in the preceding survey.

Between the two surveys, cultivated area per head fell (see Table 4:1) to 55 per cent of the figures collected by Rimoldi and close to that considered the minimum requirement for shifting

241 cultivators in New Guinea.[1] This was due partly to changing emphases in the pattern of work between the two surveys, particularly the greater amount of time used for external agencies and in the inception of two communal enterprises (the establishment of a cash crop garden and preparations for the transfer of the village to a new site). Three other factors must be taken into account. [125] Firstly, a slightly different survey technique was employed by Rimoldi. The 1964 measurements were confined to a single point in time, whereas Rimoldi measured all the gardens and then added any extensions which occurred during the survey period (about six weeks) without deducting any areas which might have gone out of [132] production. Secondly, 1964 proved to be a highly unseasonal year at Sivepa in that recorded rainfall in August exceeded that in December (1,542 and 1,416 points respectively) and the number of rain days was the same in each month (24). This disrupted the cycle of agricultural activities and prevented the customary clearing of forest for new gardens during dry weather. For this reason, figures for areas planted but not producing (see Table 4:1) approximate closely to Rimoldi's, whereas cleared and producing areas fall far short.[2] Thirdly, two household heads within the group surveyed in 1964 had been absent from the village for two to three months before the data were collected, and third's activities were partially diverted by his involvement in a contract to build a house at Saiho hospital, and most of the community were involved for several weeks in building the new road to Sasembata and in erecting classrooms on the mission station.

245 (b) Economic trees and livestock

The holdings of economic trees (Table 4:3) indicate their importance for subsistence. Breadfruit comprises a very large proportion of the intake of starches at the onset of the dry season and only when most of it has been harvested do the people resort to sago-making. Areca is chewed by almost all adults, while the milk of the green coconut is drunk as refreshment and the meat grated to use in preparing staple foods. Hauga (Canarium sp.) nuts, when in season, are gathered and consumed largely by children.

[136] All economic trees, except for the recently introduced orange, grow wild in the bush but are claimed as individual property. Several, particularly coconut, areca palms and hingi trees, are also planted in gardens and on the periphery of the village.

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[1] See Barrau 1958:32; Brookfield 1962:245, 251; Bureau of Statistics 1963:14.

[132] [2] Similarly, a long unseasonal dry spell occurred during the last few weeks of Rimoldi's survey with the consequent extensive clearing of land for new gardens.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23



Table 5:1

Activities covered by the survey and the categories to which they are allocated

| Category: Function | Activity: Group | Activity: Individual | Category: Sector |
|---|---|---|---|
| Productive | Clearing | | |
| | Subsistence gardening: | Fencing | |
| | | Taro (plant, maintain, harvest, market) | |
| | | Sweet potato (plant, harvest, market) | |
| | | Yam (plant, maintain, harvest) | |
| | | Minor crops (plant, maintain, harvest, market) | Subsistence |
| | Other subsistence food production: | | |
| | | Fishing | |
| | | Hunting | |
| | | Sago-making | |
| | Other subsistence activities: | | |
| | | Preparation of tools and equipment | |
| | | Construction | |
| | Cash cropping: | Coffee (maintain, harvest, process, market) | External |
| | | Rubber (harvest, market) | |
| | Paid work | | |
| | Household: | Washing | |
| | | Cooking | |
| | | Collecting firewood | |
| | Social obligations: | Marriage | Subsistence |
| | | Death | |
| | | Other | |
| | | Visiting | |
| Non-productive | Sick: | Personal | |
| | | Care of sick | |
| | External agencies: | * Purchasing | |
| | | Council work | |
| | | Meetings | External |
| | | Church work | |
| | | Church services | |
| | Miscellaneous: | Recreation | |
| | | Other | |
| | | Researchers | |

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would in effect be wasted, since at some point there is no alternative but to wait for crops and animals to mature. Similarly, in these three processes, failure of one member of the production organization to perform his role correctly would not ordinarily result in failure of the entire process. What is not done today can be done tomorrow, and what one person fails to do another can do at another time.

In fact it will be demonstrated that it may well be the particular nature of work in these societies which inhibits the extension of cash cropping and the fuller utilisation of available labour time. It is with these considerations in mind that the data relating to the activity patterns of the adult residents of the two villages are presented and analysed.

Method adopted

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The characteristics of the sample communities have been described in Chapter 4. The survey of activity patterns was confined to the adult members of these communities (i.e. those over the age of about fifteen years) in view of the very restricted amount of work observed to be done by younger people. By so doing a larger number of households could be included in the survey than would otherwise have been possible. The actual size of the samples was restricted, in the case of Inonda, by the population of the village itself while, at Sivepe, logistical considerations prevented more than 30 to 35 adults being surveyed at one time. The technique used was one of daily interviews associated with observations of all individual movements in and out of the village.

[124]
[123]

Data were collected over three distinct periods amounting to a total of twenty-seven weeks,[1] the periods being selected in such a way as to cover expected seasonal variations in activity patterns (see Fig.5:1). Treating each community separately the form of presentation is such as, firstly, to describe its basic behavioural characteristics for the duration of the survey and for the individual periods, and secondly, to isolate internal variations, most particularly between cash and non-cash croppers but also according to such criteria as age and sex. All activities are covered, with the exception of eating, resting and sleeping; an activity being defined as covering all time spent between departing and returning to the village (or, in the case of intra-village activities, the start and finish of the task) and so including such related events as time spent travelling and resting. Some activities have, however, been broken down for further analysis on a detailed time and motion basis.

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[1] Twenty-six in the case of Inonda.

Chapter 6

## Activity patterns: Sivepe

125

### Introduction

The Sivepe survey involved 35 adults (17 men and 18 women). Of these, 23 were resident in the village throughout, the remainder either commencing or terminating their residence during the survey period. In all, a total of 5,310 man-days was covered although, on account of temporary absences and sickness, detailed records were only kept for a shorter period. Of the total available labour time 6 per cent (320 man-days) was lost through absences longer than 24 hours and a further 4 per cent (212.4 man-days) through sickness within the village. However, during a single week in period I, at the height of an influenza epidemic, 29.6 per cent of potential labour time was unavailable (see Fig.6:1).

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### (a) Temporary absences

A total of 453 man-nights was spent away from the village, or 8.5 per cent of all covered by the survey.[1] An analysis of reasons for absence is presented in Table 6:1. The major single cause, 36 per cent of the total, is visits to ex-servicemen settlers at Sangara, mostly by kinsmen[2] to assist in establishing the block. A further 26 per cent of absences involved garden work, either protecting the gardens from incursions by pigs, or facilitating intensive clearing programmes.

While the fulfilling of social obligations accounts for only 16 per cent of all absences, it involves the largest number of people (24 of a possible 35, compared with 13 for garden work and 5 at Sangara) and is characteristically of short duration, seldom more than one or two nights away from the village. By contrast, the

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[1] The difference between this and the figure of 6 per cent for man-days quoted above being that some of the nights involved absences of less than 24 hours duration.

[2] A daughter of one of the sample is married to a settler while a Jegase man from a neighbouring village also has a block at Sangara.



[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

Chapter 10

## Exchange patterns: Sivepe

### The nature and volume of transactions

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[125] As in the case of data relating to activity patterns, the transactions of the 35 adult members of the sample were recorded over a period of 25 weeks and 4 days, or 4,741 man-days. However, in view of the household functioning as the basic unit of production and consumption, attention was restricted to inter-household exchanges. These transactions were effected on only 63 per cent (2,987) of the man-days, the mean number being three per transacting day. Distinctive features are associated with the range, nature of partner and circumstances in which each of the five [431] identified categories is exchanged. Subsistence produce and labour services are associated primarily with the subsistence sector and cash crops, storebought goods and cash with the external, the former being characterised as gift exchange and the latter as monetary in that there is an immediate exchange of goods for cash (see Tables 10:1 and 10:2). Although large sums of money do enter the community through the gift exchange system, it will be demonstrated that these originate primarily from wage earners employed in the external sector. In effect, therefore, the distinction which emerges between the two sectors in production and activity patterns is maintained in the systems of exchange. The concept of the market economy is of only restricted application although, as the volume of gift exchanges suggests, it does not follow that there is no demand for subsistence produce within the community.

(a) Non-monetary sector

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437 (i) Subsistence produce. Subsistence foodstuffs dominate the non-monetary transactions with 25,909 lbs being exchanged. Both at the level of specific goods and of the sum of goods the basic feature of balance in exchange is demonstrated for, if transactions with the researchers are excluded, acquisitions account for 48 per cent of all transactions. Since this equivalence also occurs at the level of individual goods it suggests no significant geographical variations in the relative abundance or scarcity of goods within the range of transacting partners. While the volume of transactions of specific items does, crudely, reflect the relative importance



A,[See Categories 438, 439, pp. 186 & 189--Analyst]

## Preface

125 (101) In this study, carried out between February and April 1963, seven groups of adult male Orokaiva were tested using a culture-fair test of cognitive ability. There were 20 men in each group, making a total sample of 140.

153 Differences were found between some of the groups; one village obtained significantly higher test results than the other groups and another significantly lower test scores than all others except one.

Some of the total samples were divided into three groups according to productivity or ownership of cash crop trees. There was found to be a significant difference between groups. Those who were most productive tended to have the higher test scores.

128 A principal components factor analysis revealed three factors. Tentative identification suggests a memory factor, a gestalt factor and a less certain third factor.

122 Gratitude is expressed to the New Guinea Research Unit of the School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, for the financial support which covered field expenses and the cost of travel to Papua.

114 Special thanks are due to Mr Cromwell Burau of the staff of the Unit whose company, assistance and help matched with his special skills made the field work so profitable and enjoyable.

Gratitude is also expressed to Mr I.G. Ord, Chief Psychologist of the Public Service Commission in Port Moresby, for his interest and encouragement in this project. It was his initial research that developed the test and made this project possible.



[p.4 is blank]

121 It became evident that the best tests were those that depended least on the translations of test instruction but utilized miming procedures for maximum communication. The performance of the test items and the test itself are part of the progressive communication and elaboration of the task.

## The present study

125 [121] Seven different groups were tested. These had been selected previously by the New Guinea Research Unit for special study because of their different approaches to land tenure.

A description of the samples in order of testing is given in Table 1.

It was decided to take a sample of 20 adult males from each group. Many of these had already been included in studies planned by or undertaken in conjunction with the New Guinea Research Unit.

In the village of Inonda there were insufficient adult male testees, so numbers were supplemented by ten from the nearest related group, Hohota, about five miles away. In addition, at the time of testing three men were added to the Sivepe sample from the related village of Binduta to bring the sample size to 20. At Beporo a sample had already been selected from the Kurou clan and this was supplemented by testees from six other clans to complete the sample. The samples at Ongoho and Borugasusu were just sufficient in size to be complete. The ex-servicemen sample had been previously selected for fuller study. They came from Isevene, Sangara and Girua.

[464] Plantation labourers were selected randomly from the lines of Orokaiva tappers and clearers. Plantations often draw upon one type of labourer who may or may not come from one tribe or region. Three plantations were used to reduce any bias. They were 'Awala' plantation, 'Kagana' plantation and 'Mayoh' plantation. These labourers were not the same individuals as those studied by Howlett.

## The tests used

121 125 In this study an item is defined as a single unit in a series of similar units. It is complete in itself but when joined together with the other items forms a test. A test then, is a number of similar items following the same rationale. A battery is a number of tests that can be combined in any way, depending on the requirements.

Table 1

The samples and agricultural systems

| Village or group | Approximate population | Tribe | Type of terrain | Type of land tenure | Other research workers | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Inonda | 43 | Sangara | inland plain | Higaturu Council scheme (low population density) | Crocombe and Hogbin | Supplemented by 10 from Hohota |
| Beporo (Gona) | 500 | Motu | coastal plain | Spontaneous resettlement | Dakeyne | |
| Sivepe | 120 | Sangara | inland hilly | Higaturu Council scheme (high population density) | Rimoldi | Supplemented by 3 from Pereko |
| Ex-service-men settlers | 150 | various | inland plain | Individual proprietorship (with government loans for development) | Cheetham | From Isevene, Sangara and Girua |
| Plantation labourers | ? | various | - | European plantations | Howlett | From Awala, Kagana and Mayoh |
| Ongoho | 55 | Asigi | inland plain | Communal tenure of cash crop land | Crocombe | |
| Borugasusu | 180 | Aiga | riverine | Traditional tenure | Rimoldi | |

162
125
423
133
177

125 (i) The battery

There were seven tests. Tests 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 in the following list were adaptations by Ord of tests which have been used in a number of test batteries. In this study the original Ord versions have been used except for some minor changes.

1. The Knox Cube Imitation Test. This test is essentially the same as that used in the Arthur Point Performance Scale (1943). Four red ¾" cubes are attached at equal intervals to a grey base frame 8" long. Two detached red ¾" cubes are used for tapping.

The tester gives the testee a detached cube and with another taps a sequence on the frame and then invites the testee to tap the sequence on the frame.

2. Bead Threading. This test is a modification of the Stanford-Binet 'copying a bead chain' item. The tester displays a pre-constructed bead chain for a predetermined period, the time depending on difficulty level. After the original bead chain has been removed, the testee is required to make a similar pattern by threading the beads on a length of plastic string. Three types of beads are used - cubic, spherical and cylindrical.

3. Passalong Test. This test was originally devised by Alexander (1932) and is a version of the sliding block puzzles. The sizes of the tiles, frames and stimulus cards have been altered so that the patterns on the stimulus cards are identical in area to those of the completed tile patterns. Both are larger than the original.

The testee is required to make a pattern in a white plastic frame, similar to that on a stimulus card. This is done by sliding the tiles about on the frame.

4. The Form Assembly Test. This form board, although a completely new design, departs very little from the general pattern of form boards following Seguin's original work. A single plastic board, measuring 14" x 5" with seven designs (square, triangle, etc.) glued to it, is presented to the testee. A square plastic stencil measuring 4" x 4", with an area missing, is placed on the right hand side of the board, and the testee indicates by pointing which piece or pieces could fill the missing area to complete the square.

The early designs in the series have simple one-piece solutions, the later designs require complex three-piece solutions.

5. Picture Matching Test. This test is a variation of the cube construction test designed by Kohs (1923). The three-dimensional cubes have been replaced by thin tiles of which two surfaces are relevant. The tiles are the same on both surfaces, being either all red, or all white, or half red and half white.

125 A testee is presented with a printed design and asked to match this design on a plastic frame. The early patterns require 4 tiles, the next 9, and the final ones 16.

6. The Kim Game. Rudyard Kipling in Kim suggested an observation test suitable for selection purposes. This test involves memory for objects. The testee is required to look at some objects on a board for a specified time, and then cover his eyes while new objects are added to the original ones on the board. There is no change in the position of the original objects. He is then required to remove the new items.

The first item has 10 original and 6 new objects and the second item has 25 original and 15 new objects.

7. Gestalt Continuation Test Form A. This test is the only test in the battery requiring the use of pencil and paper. It was designed by Hector (1960) of the National Institute of Personnel Research in South Africa who found it suitable for use amongst illiterate mine workers. The patterns used here are the same as Hector's. Hector presented testees with printed half patterns which had to be completed. However, in the present case, the first section only of the pattern was drawn by the tester in the view of the testee who was required to complete this pattern in the remaining space.

(ii) Practice items

The battery can be administered without the use of spoken language by simple miming procedures. The Kim Game is probably the most difficult but can be managed if careful attention is paid to the practice items.

Each test begins with a number of simple practice items. The testee repeats these items until he has mastered the process involved. The items increase in complexity so that more elaborate strategies are demanded for their solution. The number of practice and test items in each of the tests is presented in Table 2.

Table 2

The test battery

| | Practice items | Test items | Timed | Approximate testing time (mins) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cube Imitation | 1 | 10 | No | 5 |
| Bead Threading | 2 | 6 | Yes | 10 |
| Passalong | 1 | 7 | Yes | 12 |
| Form Assembly | 2 | 12 | No | 15 |
| Pattern Matching | 2 | 11 | Yes | 15 |
| Kim Game | 1 | 2 | Yes | 10 |
| Gestalt Continuation Form A | 0 | 4 | No | 5 |
| Total | 9 | 52 | | 72 |

125 (iii) Test administration

Testing was done individually during daylight hours at the testees' home villages. The time spent in testing varied considerably depending upon the quality of the response.

123 Establishment of adequate rapport is important in all psychological testing. A number of factors contributed to its establishment in the present case. The field staff and the New Guinea Research Unit were well known to the testees, personally in the majority of cases, and at least by reputation in the remainder. This led to a readiness to co-operate in the research programme. The physical material of the test is itself attractive and appealing. Testees do not become bored or stressed during testing as the item type changes fairly rapidly.

125 A card table approximately 3 feet square was used to provide a flat surface on which testing took place.

(iv) Scoring systems

There are currently a number of scoring systems available for use with this battery. The first of these was devised by Ord (1959). This utilized time bonuses and credit for partially correct responses. Other systems were developed by Kearney (1962). Test scores derived from the different scoring systems were correlated by the product-moment method in a 27 x 27 matrix. When one marking system is correlated with any other marking system for the same test, the correlation did not fall below r = 0.9 except in one case where r = 0.85.

One system of analysis used simple binaries (i.e., 1 mark if totally correct, 0 marks if incorrect) to avoid any contamination of the results by a marking effect. It might have been thought that delection of time bonuses and part marks would render results less sensitive to small changes in performance, but the above results have not borne this out. There were time limits but these did not make the task rely on speed but were imposed so as to have a standard discontinuation time when the testee was unable to complete the item.

The simple binary system makes no assumption about the relative weightings of various items or ideal time bonuses. In this analysis this system has been used.

## Results

153 The means and standard deviations of the test score are presented in Table 3.

436 Several villagers were asked separately to rank each kind of hambo and di in descending order of value. There was agreement as to the ordinal value of most items and the few discrepancies were eliminated by discussion with the elders.

[125] We took a list of hambo and di from each household head and details of the person from whom he had acquired each item, his relationship to that person, and the reason for the acquisition (whether as bride-price or by barter, cash purchase [128] or otherwise). Cash values for each type of di and hambo were assessed on the basis of average prices realized in known sales and purchases. Where the people could not recall an instance of the sale or purchase of a particular item, its value was estimated from its position on the scale of relative values given to us by the local people. Hambo were valued from £3 for daremo (though occasionally extra large ones sell for up to £20) down to 2/- for the more common articles. Most feathers are now so abundant that they have no cash value, but bird of paradise, ungaijawo and cassawary plumes are still sold. Further details of assessed values of hambo and di are given in Appendix E[A]

435 436 The cash value of hambo and di held in the village at the time of our survey was as follows:

Table 5

Cash value of hambo and di

| | Cash value | Household range | Household average |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hambo | £52.17. 0 | 0 - £15. 6. 0 | £6.12. 2 |
| Di | £17.17. 0 | 0 - £ 4. 6. 0 | £2. 4. 8 |
| Total | £70.14. 0 | 0 - £19.12. 0 | £8.16.10 |

Few men looked after their own valuables. Two brothers (each the head of a separate household) who kept theirs jointly, left them in the care of their married sister in another village. Another two brothers and their father left their valuables, which they owned jointly, with the wife of the elder brother. Those of another household were held by the wife of the household head. In one instance the household valuables were left in another village in the care of the parents of the

A [See Category 436, pp. 97-99--Analyst]

early on Sunday morning, but otherwise Saturday and Sunday are spent in much the same way as the other days of the week. Most people trim the grass and clear away any rubbish around their houses on Friday mornings. This is known as "council work" as it is made mandatory by a council by-law. It takes only an hour or two and not all villagers do these chores at this time.

Although there is some seasonal rhythm in subsistence activities, it does not seem to be very great, and relatively few other activities are affected by seasonal variations. The obligations associated with death, marriage and ceremonial activities seem to have a much greater effect on the patterns of work.

House-building, hunting and bush-clearing are primarily the province of men. Women's work includes weeding, harvesting, and domestic chores. Both sexes co-operate in planting, collecting firewood, stacking and burning dead wood, and foraging for wild foods. Men appear to work jointly with their wives much more in the cash crop gardens than they do in the food gardens.

A brief survey of patterns of work was undertaken for a period of six weeks (from 2nd July to 12th August 1962). Such a short study cannot give any indication of seasonal variations, nor can it be considered as necessarily representative of the year as a whole. In fact, owing to the death of one of the village elders during our stay, a considerable amount of time was spent in mourning and attendant social obligations. But since the beginning of 1959 there have been an average of two deaths per year in the village, and when one considers that the villagers are also involved in deaths of relatives in other villages, in marriages both here and elsewhere, in feasts, church celebrations and other commitments, the amount of time spent in social obligations during this period may not have been unduly out of proportion. The survey was undertaken as a pilot project only, on the basis of which it is proposed to organize a much deeper study of time patterns among the Orokaiva over a

125 period of up to twelve months.

Data were collected daily on the work undertaken by each villager of fifteen years of age and over. Details of the work proposed for each day were noted each morning, and usually verified in the evening. However, as the people do not have clocks and we were unable to make detailed checks throughout the day, the number of hours recorded for each task can only be taken as approximate.

512
461 It is much easier to summarize and compare the hours spent in various activities if we have a standard yardstick of a day's work. Plantation labourers work an eight-hour day, but we are reluctant to use this as a basis for comparison with village folk. On the other hand, a simple total of hours spent in each task can also be misleading: for example, the councillor on one occasion spent seventeen hours on council work (including travelling time) in one day. Merely added into a list of hours this would suggest that more than two full days were spent on this duty, though this was not in fact the case. Likewise we have found it difficult to account for days spent in mourning, travelling or celebrating in such a way that total time can be effectively compared. From a preliminary analysis of days which were not marred by mourning, celebrating or sickness, we found that people were occupied in activities other than domestic and leisure for about seven hours daily. Therefore when a day is taken up with sickness, mourning, travelling or other non-productive occupations, we have recorded it for comparative purposes as seven hours.

It will be seen from Table 11 that on the average each man spent 14.0 hours a week on subsistence activities (including hunting etc.) and each woman 15.1 hours. If the time spent in cash cropping is added to this the average becomes 14.7 hours for men and 16.0 hours for women.

512 461 241 Owing to their employment, the paid workers were able to spend less time on food production, and the average area of food garden was less (per consumption unit)(1) in households where the adult males had paid employment than in those where they did not. The three households wherein the only man had paid work had an average of 0.72 acres under cultivation per consumption unit, the two households wherein the only man did not have paid work had an average of 1.66 acres under cultivation per consumption unit, and the three households containing two men (in each case one working and one not) had an average of 0.79 acres per consumption unit.(2) Food intake was maintained partly by the purchase of store foods, particularly rice. Moreover, the wives of paid workers spent more time than usual in subsistence production, and concentrated more than the wives of other men on harvesting for current use more than [464] cultivation for future use. Planting is not maintained at the normal level when paid work is available, but as the work is casual this has no serious effects (for extra cultivation is done [465] when paid work is no longer available). The present pay-rate of £1.10.0 for a 40 hour week is not sufficient to feed a family from store foods alone, so that continuous work at these rates would probably result in a decline in living standards.(3)

512 461 Men who are engaged in paid work still engage to some extent in other types of productive work. The main substitution is not paid work for other productive work, but paid work for non-productive occupations. This is illustrated by Diagram 2 which compares the activities of paid workers with those of all men for the whole period.

The amount of time spent on social obligations is probably somewhat higher than usual owing to the death men-

[125]

(1) Any person 10 years of age or over was rated as one consumption unit, children 4 - 9 as half, and infants 0 - 4 as one quarter. Temporary visitors were excluded.

(2) The average for the households with two adults was reduced by the fact that in two cases the men remaining at home were either ageing or suffering from long-term illness.

(3) The most reliable indicator of nutritional requirements is the rations scale in the Native Labour Ordinance 1958. This ordinance prescribes minimum quantities of foodstuffs required for indigenous workers and their dependents. The retail cost of the supplies listed is approximately £1.3.0 per week for a single man or £2.19.0 for husband, wife and three children. These prices are for food only.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 681

125 The sample is necessarily small, and not representative, as there were at the time only three Orokaiva entrepreneurs who had established enterprises of any size without government help. The fourth entrepreneur differs from the others in that he established himself only after obtaining a resettlement block and a government loan.

402 The first indigenous entrepreneur known to engage full time in cash-cropping and trading in the Orokaiva area was Raymond Ogerem who was not himself an Orokaiva man. He was born about 1910 in Bako village near Tarakwaruru (on the coast between Samarai and Cape Killerton) where his father was leader of Kavamasia clan. After only a few months schooling he went to work in Bunting and Company's trade store at Samarai and later at Tufi, Buna and Misima Island; about 1939 he took over a store at Esahambo, about ten miles from Popondetta. Adjacent to the store he acquired a lease of 100 acres of land from the government. Using hired labour he planted eight acres of coffee and about 200 rubber trees before the Japanese invasion in 1942. Though Raymond returned to Esahambo [443] after the invasion was repulsed, he did not remain long before returning to Tarakwaruru where about 1952 he was instrumental in starting a community trade store. He has not returned to the Orokaiva area since then. Raymond is still remembered by almost all the older Orokaiva men, and is described by them as a generous man who they admired for his ability to run a business which up to that time they had thought was the exclusive prerogative of Europeans.

Personal experience of the entrepreneurs

The entrepreneurs A, B and C were eldest sons (and the fathers of at least two were also eldest children). This may be significant as these three have been assisted in the development of their cash crop enterprises by younger brothers who do not require immediate cash payment. The fourth (D) was a youngest son but he did not undertake cash-cropping until he received a government loan.

The two older entrepreneurs, A and B, had no schooling, the younger two had limited elementary schooling. Formal education is [871] largely a function of age for schools have spread only slowly throughout the countryside. It is relevant that all four come from the less populous coastal area where contact has been longest, and none from the more populous inland.

[484] All four entrepreneurs have travelled much more widely than the average person of the district and since adolescence they have all lived mostly outside their village communities.[1] On their return

[1] They have all worked in other districts of Papua-New Guinea, while D has travelled to Australia, and in 1953 attended the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in London.

177 individual names to become part of village history. The anthropologists
[657] who had been in the two villages, under the auspices of A.N.U., were
all very well remembered by name. When we included in a questionnaire
● [125] a request for the names of Europeans our informants knew well, we were
given a list including all the anthropologists, by their first names,
and nobody else. This was almost a standard reaction. I am not at
all sure that this close acquaintance made the anthropologists into
key figures in development or that they were more influential in socio-
economic development than the mission and government servants who,
though anonymous, may have achieved more in this direction. A.N.U.
personnel have made presents of coffee hullers, both in Sivepe and
Inonda; one anthropologist taught his key informant in Inonda to drive
a car, as a result of which this man found a permanent job with the
administration. These certainly were tangible moves in the direction
of economic progress.

177 I found that among the Orokaiva, unlike the New Zealand Maori,
123 I was never asked my opinion when some community decision was to be
made nor was any greater interest displayed in the views of my predeces-
sors. I was usually told when something had been decided (and decisions
almost always seemed to be reached in my absence) and naturally I
always expressed pleasure at receiving the information. The pattern
was different only when I myself was directly involved. On the other
hand my participation in community activities was sought and much
appreciated. Our behaviour was closely observed and some minor
innovations in housekeeping (the making of washing lines, airing of
blankets, etc.) may be due to my wife. Everybody seemed concerned
that our presence should not disturb the precarious balance of power--
and that we should be given no power. This suited my own purpose.

If the anthropologists may nonetheless perhaps be classed as
key personalities, it is because Orokaiva attach special importance
on the kind of relationships that are thus established with whites.
I have already mentioned some hints we received that we might be
returned ancestors; even if imagination does not go so far, the daily
relationship established with the anthropologists comes close to what
Orokaiva would regard as tolerable and human. It is in the texture
of life that grows up between the population and the anthropologist
rather than specific innovations that the importance of his visit
lies; perhaps without realising it, he nurtures an ideology.

875 One of the significant mediators during my time in Sivepe was
657 the head teacher of Sasembata school. His case will provide an example
of the dangers of generalising about expatriates who are in fact an
extremely complex group very imperfectly known. This man, aged about
28, had led a somewhat bohemian life in Australia, as a photographer,
broadcaster and advertising agent. His decision to join the New Guinea
mission was in part a conversion, in part a search for identity, in
part a search for an assured place in the world. He married a mission
teacher met in New Guinea. He found, in fact, that none of the fixed
expatriate categories quite fitted him: he had absorbed, while in